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IX. — *The Wanderings of Dardanus and the Dardani*

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IN this article I shall discuss only that part of my subject which deals with the Danubian river-folk, the prehistoric trade-route from Servia to Troy, and the Dardanians in the Troad, omitting for the present the Arcadian, Cretan, and Mediterranean traditions. I suggest some points regarding the Dardani in Europe and in the Troad which, I believe, have not yet been brought out in linking the two divisions of this people. The points which I desire to make in this connection are concerned first with religion, second with the trade-route of the metal-using Balkan peoples, and third with a point of military tactics. I hope to show that the mythical Dardanus was as truly a projection of the community emotion and activities of his people as Orpheus and Dionysus were of Thrace, Achilles and Athena of the Achaeans, and Paeon of the Paeonians.

The tribal movements of the Danubian peoples are mentioned by Herodotus in several places, and, in particular, in the seventh book ¹ he states that before the Trojan war there was an invasion of Europe by the Mysians and Teucrians, who penetrated as far as the Adriatic after vanquishing all the Thracians. It is recognized by scholars of the present day who have studied the problems of the Danubian connections with Asia Minor, that the movement of the tribes in question was from the opposite direction from that assumed by Herodotus. The drift from Europe into the Asiatic peninsula has been established by scholars who treat the subject from the various sides of language, ethnography, and archaeology. The present mode of stating the matter may be quoted from Dr. Walter Leaf's *Troy*, 16 f., or in his recent book on *Homer and History*. I quote the latter, 72 f.: "The Dardanians who founded the Troy of the Mycenaean age were —

¹ Hdt. VII, 20.

and this is hardly questioned now—a branch of that Phrygian stock, who were themselves sharers in the great thrust of the nations from the north. The Phrygian language was closely akin to the Greek, and the two nations had doubtless come down together, or nearly at the same time, from the Danube valley. The Dardanians had taken the southeastern road, while the Achaeans passed on southwestwards.”

Two closely related tribes of the Phrygian stock that settled in the Danube valley appear in the earliest European record, and do not disappear from history until after the Slavic invasion of the seventh century A.D. They have left a reminiscence of themselves in two words well known to-day. It is a matter of common knowledge that the famous strait called the Dardanelles preserves the name of the Trojan Dardani; and I was glad to note that, in default of any other plausible derivation, Mr. T. W. Allen accepts, in a recent number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*,² my derivation of the *paean* from the neighbors and kinsmen of the European Dardanians, the Paeonians. The Dardanians in the *Iliad* are, as Andrew Lang says of their leader Aeneas, a very special sort of people. They are sharply divided from the Trojans in several places, and Dardanian is not used for Trojan. Their leader is so dear to the gods that his race is to be saved, while the race of the Trojans as represented by Priam's family is doomed to disappear. Yet Priam is said in the genealogy in the twentieth book to be a descendant of Dardanus, and the epithet Dardanides is used of him only, except in two passages in the eleventh book where it is applied to Ilos. Aeneas is protected by Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, who tend and heal him in the Trojan temple of Apollo, by Aphrodite his mother, and by the god of the sea, Poseidon, who is normally on the side of the Achaeans. He is represented in the thirteenth book as keeping in the rear of the fighting because of his bitterness against Priam, who withholds honor from him. Other notable Dardanians are Antenor and his sons and the sons of Panthous, Poulydamas the seer and Euphorbus. In the case of all these there

² xxxv (1915), 95.

is to be discerned a connection with religion and sacred things that indicates their northern origin. And it is appropriate enough that the descendants of Dardanus, who brought the mysteries to Samothrace and to the Troad, should be invested with a kind of sanctity. It is to be noted that Antenor is the husband of the Thracian Theano, who is made priestess of the goddess Athene by the Trojans. His son Agenor is the special care of Apollo, who saves him from the raging Achilles by assuming his form. Panthous himself, *arcis Phoebique sacerdos*, is mentioned in the third book of the *Iliad* as the counsellor of Priam. His son Poulydamas is protected by Apollo in the fifteenth book, "for Apollo would not permit Panthous' son to be conquered among the fighters." It is clear that stress is laid on the father here rather than on the seer Poulydamas himself, as we find instead of the patronymic the emphatic *Πάνθου υἱόν*. The blameless Poulydamas first appears in the eleventh book as a companion of Hector. He gives the latter in the twelfth book the unwelcome advice which provokes the fiery answer in which comes Hector's famous line, to which all hearts have thrilled, —

εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνασθαι περὶ πάτρης.

The Dardanian seer is of much more significance in the *Iliad* than the Trojan Helenus, the brother of Hector, who appears most prominently in that capacity in the sixth and the eleventh books. In vi, 76, Helenus is called *οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος*. But in spite of this he is "eine etwas blasse Gestalt,"³ and Poulydamas has much the larger rôle in the books that recount the great fighting. Indeed, in xviii, 250, it is said of him that he alone knows the past and the future.

ὃ γὰρ οἶος ὄρα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω.

Besides these Dardanians who have some religious function, there is their leader Aeneas, who is of divine descent from his mother, as well as from Dardanus and Zeus, and is especially commended by Poseidon for the pleasing gifts which he gives the gods. It is a Dardanian who slays the Greek

³ Otto, in *P. W.* 2844.

Protesilaus, the first victim of the war. I do not know whether or not there is any religious significance in this.

The founder of the race of Dardanians in the Troad, according to the account given in the twentieth book, was a son of Zeus who founded Dardania before holy Ilion had been surrounded with walls in the plain. According to the legend preserved in Dionysius, viii, 461 and Diodorus, v, 48 and elsewhere, he was the son of Zeus and the Atlantid Electra. It is related that Dardanus was the first to cross the sea by means of boats, and that he was the founder of the city Dardanus on the strait; further, that he learned the mysteries which already existed on the Holy Island and was the first to initiate strangers and to make the rite famous. Pausanias (vii, 4, 3) states that the original name of the island known to Homer as Thracian Samos was Dardania. He also tells us in another place (*ib.* 19, 6) that Dardanus received from Zeus an image of Dionysus in a chest. Strabo and Dionysius both relate that the brothers Dardanus and Iasion, or Iason, came to Samothrace, and that in consequence of his sin against Demeter Iasion was consumed by a thunderbolt, after which episode Dardanus left the holy island, and going to the Troad taught the mysteries to those on the mainland. The connection of Dardanus with Samothrace is regarded by Bloch, Thraemer, and others as a relatively late invention without historical foundation. On the philological evidence Fick maintains that the appearance of the name in connection with Samothrace indicates that in the time of the great migrations Dardanians coming from Europe reached the Troad from this island. This view gains substantial support from the archaeological remains, which show such a strong connection between Troy and the middle Danube valley. "It is probable that the main trade-route left the middle Danube and followed more or less the Roman road from Nish to the Hellespont."⁴ Nish is, of course, the Dardanian Naissos. The Dardanians and their neighbors, the Paeonians, possessed the Vardar river from its headwaters down to the plain at its mouth where Saloniki now

⁴ Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 258.

stands. At this moment there is no need to comment on the strategic and commercial importance of this river and its mouth. The words of Homer in praise of the Axios, which have sometimes caused wonder, are intelligible to-day⁵ when the nations of Europe have its banks for their battle ground. If, as the pottery, celts, and other prehistoric objects already excavated indicate, there existed an old caravan route, running as far as Aenos and starting from the country of the metal-using Dardanians, it is reasonable to argue that these early immigrants settled in the Thracian islands, which lie on the way to the Troad. The fact that these islands were so productive of metal would have been the important consideration with these men from the north, whose prehistoric working of the mines of Servia can be traced back to neolithic times. The importance of the mining industry in old Servia under the Romans is attested by coins of Trajan and Hadrian inscribed *Dardanici*,⁶ and by the *procuratores metallorum inter Macedoniam, Daciam Mediterraneam, Moesiam seu Dardaniam*. The shining armor of the young prince from the Vardar is described with ardor by Achilles, who stripped it from his body when he slew him. In the twenty-second book, 569 ff., Achilles says, "I will give a breastplate which I stripped from off Asteropaeus — of bronze it is, and around its edge a casting of molten tin is rolled." And again, "I will give a sword silver-studded, a fair thing, made in Thrace, which I took from off Asteropaeus." Diomed wins this prize and carries away the mighty sword, together with its scabbard and well-wrought baldric.

The fact that the Dardanians in Europe were possessed of the art of metallurgy is of great significance in connection with the religion of Samothrace, Lemnos, Imbros, and Thasos, in which islands we find the worship of the Kabeiroi and the mysteries. "Among primitive people metallurgy is an uncanny craft and the smith is half medicine man." I quote from Miss Harrison in *Themis*, p. 26. The part that Dardanus, representative of a people whose contribution to the culture of the new lands to which they had come was, above all,

⁵ Dec. 29, 1915.

⁶ Cohen, Trajan, 338; Hadrian, 1166.

the knowledge of metal work and mining, plays in the religion of Samothrace is akin to the rôle of an Idaean Dactyl. Of these Dactyls Sophocles (*Strabo*, x, 473) says: "They first found out iron and wrought much else of these arts that are of use in living." The Dactyls, who invent charms and purifying rites and mysteries, as well as fire and the use of iron, in my opinion come from the Danubian country. They are Phrygian in origin, according to Sophocles and Strabo, who says that they first lived on the Trojan Ida and were transferred to the Ida in Crete. This combination of metallurgy and magic grew into the strange complex of worships that made Samothrace famous. On the neighboring islands the same worships are found, but subordinated to the commercial interests which mark the Thracian islands. On Samothrace, the most majestic and least accessible in point of harborage, the worship overshadowed the other side; and just as at Delphi the northern immigrants made a sacred place among the shadowy mountains, so the Dardanians and other European settlers of a still earlier time made a shrine of the island with the towering height, which was a resting place on their way eastward. It is not the place here to discuss the problems of Samothracian worship, but I heartily agree with Fick⁷ in accepting a European origin for the Kabeiroi and the Kadmiloi. In pointing out the Trojan and Phrygian affiliations of the word *Kabeiros*, Fick protests against the tendency to overestimate the Phoenician influence on the Samothracian cults and on Greek development. Hiller von Gaertringen, also (*Thera*, i, 142), in speaking of the Kadmus cult on Thera, while saying that it is beside his purpose there to discuss how it came about that the Greeks came to regard Kadmus as a Phoenician at all, denies any Phoenician influence on Thera beyond their stopping at the harbor, bringing their script for business purposes, and selling their goods. They were birds of passage here as elsewhere. And so with Samothrace also we have no need of Phoenician influence to explain the culture of an island always named from Europe,—Saoke from the Thracian

⁷ *Flattiden und Danubier*.

Saioi, Dardania from the Dardanians, the Island of the Atlantid Electra, the Sun God's wife, and from Homer's time the Thracian Samos.

The influence of the Danubians in religion is entirely in accord with what we know of the influence and spread of other northern worships. It is well known how the religion of Olympus spread southward and eastward, finally reaching Crete. The cults of Orpheus and Dionysus came to all Greek peoples, and I have in previous articles argued that the mantic and medicine-magic of the Paeonians had a far-reaching influence.

Homer never speaks of Dardania in Europe, although the kindred Paeonians play so large a part in the fighting. Of this several explanations could be given. The most reasonable would appear to be that the name Paeonia was of much larger connotation in early time than in that of which we have more detailed knowledge. There is ample proof of this in Herodotus, and Livy's phrase (*Dardanis repentibus Paeoniam quod et sua fuisset et continens esset finitimis suis*) suggests the earlier very close connection of Dardania and Paeonia. The Paeonians, nearer the river mouth, were more civilized because of their contacts with the Aegean, and their name stood for the whole stretch of the Vardar country. In the *Journal International d'Archéologique Numismatique* (1913, 194-280), M. Svoronos, in a study entitled "*Numismatique de la Péonie et de la Macédoine*," shows the astonishing development of Paeonia and the extent of country under its dominion up to the time of the Persian wars. After going through in detail all the coinage of north Greece, M. Svoronos ascribes all the Thraco-Macedonian coins to Paeonia and concludes his article with the declaration that we must revise all our ideas about the origin of monetary types and systems, and asserts that Paeonia will become in the future the most important centre and point of departure for all our numismatic knowledge, both historical and mythological. M. Svoronos's study of the coinage emphasizes all that I have said about the importance of Dardania-Paeonia as a commercial centre from early time.

Another explanation of Homer's failure to mention the Dardanians in Europe is that he merely does not happen to do so. He writes much about the Asiatic Mysians, and only once chances to let Zeus look away to Europe to the Thracian Mysians. In the centuries in which the Homeric poems were composed attention was centered for Greece far more on the Mediterranean lands than on the northern places which are known through tradition of older songs to the poet or poets of the *Iliad*, and it may well be that the actual poets of the time of the composition of the Homeric poems were in ignorance of the European descent of the Trojan Dardani. But it is certain that a sense of their foreignness in Troy lingers implicitly in the *Iliad*. There are the Dardanians whom I discussed at the beginning of this paper; there is the distinction in the eighteenth book between the women —

Τρώαι καὶ Δαρδανίδες βαθύκολποι,

and there is the recurring battle-cry —

Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι ἀγχιμαχηταί.

The epithets *ἀγχέμαχοι* and *ἀγχιμαχηταί* I would urge as of the greatest significance as an indication of the European origin of the Dardanians. The Danubian Mysians are called *ἀγχέμαχοι*, 'hand-to-hand fighters,' or 'close fighters' by Homer.⁸ Except for the Mysians in Europe and the Dardanians, the term is applied only once by Homer, and that in the Catalogue, to Arcadians who dwelt about the tomb of Aepytus, no sailors, but such good fighting men that Agamemnon provides them with ships to go to Troy. They are never mentioned again in the *Iliad*. The fighting in close phalanx is strongly a Dorian and Macedonian trait in historical time and a central European inheritance. Caesar speaks of it as a Gallic or German custom, and Livy especially notes it in the Dardanian fighting in the books in which he writes of the battles of this people. For example, in xxxi, 43 we read: *Ubi rursus procedere Dardani coepissent, equite ac levi armatura regii nullum tale auxilii genus habentes Dardanos oneratosque immobilibus armis vexabant. . . . Occisi*

⁸ *Il.* XIII, 5.

perpauci sunt, plures vulnerati, captus nemo, quia non excedunt temere ordinibus suis, sed confertim et pugnant et cedunt. I think this a very enlightening commentary on this epithet of the Dardanians used by Homer. The Homeric epithet is explained in the *Thesaurus* as 'in stataria pugna praestans' and 'qui confertim proeliantur.' The word appears in Plutarch, *Theseus*, 5, and in Xenophon⁹ and some late writers¹⁰ as a special military term. The Xenophon passage is especially instructive. I make also the suggestion that here is the explanation of the much disputed name of the father of Aeneas. 'The Near One' or 'Close-fighter' is the meaning of the name *Anchemachos*, quoted by Fick and Bechtel, *Personennamen*, 45, from Gallipoli. The name Anchises would stand to the Dardanian epithet Ἀγχιμαχητής in the relation of the words adduced on p. 21 of the *Personennamen*, in which in the *kosende Form* the entire first part of the compound and only the suffix of the second part remain. The meaning thus secured is appropriate to the epoch and the person, whereas the explanation proffered by the *Thesaurus* (παρὰ τὸ ἀγχι, τὸ ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι τῆς Ἀφροδίτης) is unsatisfactory, as it leaves too much to be understood. 'The Near One' does not easily suggest the Lover of the Goddess, whereas it is an excellent *Kosename* for the 'Close-fighter.' The form Ἀγχίτης occurs in Empedocles *apud* Diog. Laert. viii, 61.

Dardanus and Aeneas both, according to various myths, came to the Italian peninsula, and, whatever the origin of these myths, the researches of Kretschmer and others have made it clear that the Illyrian-Thracian tribes of the Danube valley found their way into Italy as well as into the Peloponnesus and Asia Minor. Chapter eighth of Kretschmer's *Einführung*, Tomaschek's investigations, and Fick's *Flattiden und Danubier* give the philological evidence for what Kretschmer calls "the mediating rôle that the Illyrian immigrants have played between the Balkan and the Apennine peninsulas." The Illyrian Danubians found their way to all parts of the Mediterranean, and the eponyms Paeon and Dardanus be-

⁹ *Cyropaedia*, vii, 4, 7.¹⁰ *Greg. Or. in Basil.*

came common property in Greece and were carried wherever Greeks migrated.

Like all fertile countries that lie on the highroads of commerce, this land of the Vardar valley has ever been the prey of the invader and has suffered from the invader's greed and cruelty. In the epitome of Livy's ninety-fifth book the first sentence reads: C. Curio proconsul Dardanos domuit. The atrocities of his campaign were such that nearly five hundred years afterward the historian of Theodosius recalls with admiration Curio's policy of *Schrecklichkeit*, as a precedent for that emperor's mutilation of his rebellious soldiers.¹¹

It may seem strange and paradoxical that a rude mountain folk should give to the Greeks such myths as those of Dardanus and Paeon, which entered so deeply into the religion and poetry of the highly civilized Aegean Greeks. But it is clear that the Illyrian and Thracian stock had a strain of music and mysticism which is not really inconsistent with their comparative barbarism in other respects. In the very passage in which Strabo speaks of the complete barbarism of the Dardani he says that they have always made a specialty of music and use both wind and stringed instruments.

Wace and Thompson¹² speak of the importance of Thessaly as a buffer state in the Mycenaean age, lying as it did between the two metal-using lines—that of Servia-Troy on the north and the Mycenaean route to the south. And after the people from the north had overrun the entire Greek peninsula, the Balkan Danubian tribes were divided still by Thessaly from the Greek civilization and it was possible for the Greeks to credit all wonderful things to those who lived beyond the *Bora*. So the actual Dardanians, with their mud huts and with their music, were forgotten save for the unpleasant proverb,

τρεῖς τοῦ βίου λέλονται, ὥσπερ Δαρδανεύς,

while Dardanus himself, the personification of their restless wanderings in times of swarming, had his legend in many parts of the Mediterranean world.

¹¹ Ammianus, XXIX, 5, 22.

¹² *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 258.